Fourth Edition.

NO UNION!

BEING

AN APPEAL

TO IRISHMEN.

BY

MATTHEW WELD, ESQ.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE this inſtant learned that the Lawyers Corps are ſummoned "to take into conſideration buſineſs of the firſt importance," and I am given to underſtand that AN UNION is the object of their conſideration; which, it is not only underſtood is in agitation, but finally to be agreed upon on the meeting of the enſuing ſeſſion of *the Iriſh Parliament*, by Commiſſioners from England! I alſo underſtand that a pamphlet ſhortly, perhaps while I write, is publiſhed, and written by an Iriſhman in defence of an Union; I have not ſeen it, and therefore this cannot be ſuppoſed to meet it.—However, I loſe no time in thus publicly expreſſing my ſentiments thereon, convinced that it is the duty of every ſubject, and *his birth-right, by the Laws of England*, to make public his ſentiments; the more eſpecially ſo, as now is the time for the nation to expreſs its diſapprobation of the meaſure; and when our country's intereſts are at ſtake, it were more than treachery and puſillanimity not, as far as it is in the power of every individual, manly to come forward and oppoſe a meaſure ſo fatal to the intereſts of our country. Under this impreſ-

ſion I make this appeal, and add my ſignature to it; perhaps it may not be prudent to do ſo, when party ſpirit runs ſo high, and to be poſſeſſed of an independent mind is almoſt conſidered as a crime; however, aware that anonymous productions never attract the public attention, that a name however humble, produces that effect; and wiſhing to call the attention of my country to this meaſure, I have not concealed my name; convinced that an Union is fraught with injury to our beloved Sovereign, and big with danger to the empire; under this conviction, that it is the duty of every Iriſhman to remonſtrate, and petition againſt an Union, and expreſs his deteſtation of it as a meaſure in itſelf ſo tyrannical, and *ſo ungenerous on the part of England, when ſhe has an immenſe military force in the country;* let then the capital lead the way (the example will be followed by the reſt of the kingdom) and petition "The Father of his People" againſt a meaſure ſo replete with calamity and deſtruction to Ireland!

Dublin, December 1, 1798.

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BRITISH MUSEUM 30 71 DEC

NO UNION!

&c. &c.

BEFORE we enter upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to Ireland, it may not be amiſs to make a few remarks on the effects an Union had on Scotland, and ſee whether, and how far they apply to Ireland.

SCOTLAND.

It has been ſaid, "an Union was highly advantageous to that country," yet, admitting the fact, how does that apply to Ireland, different as to their local ſituation? Scotland ſeparated but by an ideal line from England, and as it were, a diſtant county of the ſame country; if then, the effects of an Union on Scotland, ſo contiguous to Britain, have been prejudicial to her, we may infer, *a fortiori*, from the inſular ſituation of Ireland, how much more detrimental an Union would prove to her than it has done to Scotland. Although the Articles of Union between England and Scotland were not carried into effect until the reign of Queen Anne, yet that country was united under James VI. of Scotland, to England: "Deſtined by *their ſituation* to form one grand monarchy."* But will this hold good with regard to George the Third? *No*——James VI. of Scotland

* Vide, Doctor Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland.

Scotland was by birth a Scotſman, and at length effected, (or at leaſt endeavoured ſo) by his inheritance of the two crowns, the Union of the *Roſe* and *Thiſtle*. Not ſo with Ireland, whoſe king is reſident in Great Britain, and whoſe legiſlature is independent, ſeparated from that country by her inſular ſituation: you can never unite the *Britiſh Lion* and *Iriſh Shamroc*, without the depreſſion, if not deſtruction of the latter!

If no Union had taken place in Scotland, the natural progreſs of civilization throughout Europe might poſſibly have raiſed that country to a far more proſperous ſtate than it in is at preſent. The pretended felicity of Scotland is completely contradicted by the ſtrong deſcription of Churchill, the ſarcaſtic obſervation of Johnſon, and the cutting reflection of Macklin; fated to perpetual ſterility, that miſerable country had nothing to loſe by a connexion with any other; and there was no danger that her agriculture would be injured, *or could*, by the excluſive attention to manufactures, which Britiſh avarice introduced: But Ireland, nature has bleſt with a fertility of ſoil, which might render her the granary of Europe; ſhe can gain nothing by the emigration of a few manufacturers from England, and let me aſk, when the very name of Engliſhman has been ſo obnoxious to the late inſurgents; what Engliſh ſettler would riſque his perſon or capital, at leaſt for centuries to come, in this country? And manufacturers, even if they did come over, would probably deem no workmen ſufficiently ſkilful, unleſs imported from England; at all events, they would only withdraw the peaſantry from the production of ſolid agricultural wealth, to a precarious dependence on fancy and faſhion: add to this, that when England vouchſafed to ally herſelf with Scotland, it was a relief to both countries, from a long continuance of a predatory war, inevitable between conterminous countries.

England,

England, previous to the accompliſhment of the Scottiſh union, was a riſing country, the envy, the admiration of Europe, formed for the enjoyment of that opulence, and the reſources which civil liberty ever produces: Is that her preſent ſituation? with taxes amounting to a hundred pounds a minute, and a debt of above four hundred millions!!!——The cauſes of the Scotch union being accompliſhed, were —that the Scottiſh repreſentatives in the Parliament of Scotland were bought;* Sawney bow'd and bow'd, until he kiſſed the miniſter's footſtool, and was his implicit ſlave: an Union took place, which laid the foundation of two ſucceſſive rebellions in Scotland,† and which beggared and depopulated Edinburgh.

But you may be told, "an Union is your intereſt," "you ſhall obtain ſome few conceſſions," "ſome few trifles to divert and take off your attention from the effects that will flow from ſuch a meaſure." Look to the ſad hiſtory of what reſulted from the Union of Scotland with England, and judge: you will perceive it is written in Scottiſh blood!!! Look to the act of the 1ſt of Geo. I. c. 54. entitled "*an act for diſarming the Highlands of Scotland*," and "all ſuch perſons as, on being ſummoned to "give in their arms, refuſed ſo to do, were taken "and enliſted as *common ſoldiers*, to ſerve beyond "the

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* Lord Godolphin, Queen Ann's Treaſurer, prevailed on her majeſty to grant £20,000, for purchaſing the Scotch Nobles and Gentry, to conſent to the Union; and there is ſubjoined a liſt of thoſe *Worthies* in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's England, given in on oath by the Earl of Glaſgow.——Vol. III. p. 777.

† Even at the time the Scots Parliament were deliberating on an Union, ſo unpopular was the meaſure, that the common people of Scotland enraged, threatened to come to Edinburgh, and diſſolve the Parliament.——Tindal's Continuation, Vol. III. 776.

" the ſeas." This is a proof of the *proſperous* effects of the Scottiſh Union, and how really diſguſting and oppreſſive it was to the nation at large! And will you believe it, Iriſhmen, *there were natives of Scotland found baſe enough* to act as commiſſioners, and acquieſce to thoſe terms with England! *they ſold their country for gold*, and for ever execrated be their memories, dyed in the blood of their fellow-citizens ſlain in the Scotch rebellion which *their* corruption and infamy brought about! You may perhaps enquire, were the articles of the Scotch Union kept inviolate, when ſigned and effected? They were not! *Magnanimous*, *generous* Britons broke through them ere three years had elapſed from the accompliſhment of the Union! when it was maintained, " that no parts of the Union were unalterable, except thoſe of the Kirk Government and quota of taxes;" not only this language was held in the ſenate, but the articles of the Union were broken through by the paſſing of the Malt Act, violatory and ſubverſive of thoſe articles! Can then Ireland expect that inviolability that was denied to Scotland?—impoſſible to look for it. If, when Ireland with a Parliament, cannot ſecure the independence of her trade from Britiſh monopoliſts, or the exemption of that trade from commercial reſtrictions, is it to be ſuppoſed ſhe can preſerve the one, or counteract the other, when ſhe ſhall have *no Parliament*, and perhaps but 100 repreſentatives *at moſt*, in the Britiſh ſenate? If we are to judge from Scotland *they will ever inviolably vote againſt their country*, as no one has yet been hardy enough to accuſe a Scotch repreſentative of ever conſulting, by his influence in the Britiſh ſenate, the intereſt of his native land! Do Iriſhmen wiſh for an union on thoſe terms? If they do, let them look to Scotland, and then let them expreſs appropriately if they can, their deteſtation of the effects of an Union! How, let me aſk is Ireland calculated

lated, from her inſular ſituation, to be united with England? If it it was intended by nature, why did the Almighty throw his ſeas between England and Ireland if his divine will had been that the two countries ſhould be united! Had that been the intention of the Omnipotent, the Iriſh ſea had not preſented itſelf an eternal barrier between the two kingdoms. What, I aſk, is the intention of Miniſters *in forcing* an Union upon the Iriſh People, have they not yet got enough of rebellion? It may be pretty diverſion to them, it may be productive of peculation and plunder to ſwell the miniſterial coffer, and the wily miniſter may nod aſſent to it. But in truth, with the pathetic exclamation of the Frogs in the Fable, "It is death to us." Unite then, hardy ſons of Ireland, unite and reſiſt your country's downfall, ſpeak it, and it is done; will it, and you have prevented an Union!

Since ſuch has been the effects of an Union on Scotland, how much more deplorable, Iriſhmen, muſt the effects of a ſimilar meaſure prove to Ireland; it may be objected, all this is very true, but if the Parliament of England appoint Commiſſioners to treat for an Union, with others appointed by the Parliament of Ireland, and the terms are finally adjuſted and agreed upon by both; where is the difficulty, or what prevents the ratification of ſuch an incorporating Union? I reply, if the Parliament of England have given up every right of legiſlating for Ireland, (which they have done, by corroborating the independence of the latter in 1782,) would not the very Act, of the Parliament of England interfering with that of Ireland, (which the Britiſh Parliament have over and over declared)* be a breach of public faith? I confeſs I feel

* Vide, Debates in the Britiſh Senate on the Affairs of Ireland, on the motions of the Duke of Leinſter, (an Engliſh Peer) Lord Moira, and Mr. Fox.

myſelf at a loſs, to know how the Britiſh Parliament *with all its omnipotence*, can, without a dereliction of thoſe declarations and votes ſo often reiterated, appoint Commiſſioners to annul the Iriſh Parliament, without the loſs of Engliſh reputation, and honor as a nation? Then caſt the veil of oblivion over your animoſities and your ſufferings, wipe out with the tear of affection thoſe religious and political differences that have too long diſtracted this country, and by means of which your enemies, raiſing themſelves on your ruins, have ſo long endeavoured in vain to diſunite you, and cauſe the Iriſh native to ſhed the blood of his countryman! I conjure you by every tie that binds you to your native land, to remonſtrate—to arouſe and reſiſt an Union with England; is this the time for *magnanimous* England, like the crafty bravo, to give the death blow to what was called *the Independence of Ireland!* Is it generous, or is it juſt in that power to ſeize the unſuſpecting moment of rendering you a contemptible province to aggrandize her inſatiable ambition, intoxicated with her naval ſucceſſes, and madly perſevering in a deſtructive war, when, had ſhe the generoſity, as ſhe has the power, ſhe might effect an honourable peace? Is this a period for broaching ſuch a doctrine, that Ireland *ſhall* be governed by a foreign Legiſlature? By what power or authority, I aſk, human or divine, has England to ſay, "Britons ſhall never be ſlaves." "But we *will* make ſlaves of Iriſhmen." By what right? By none, except the tyrant's plea—neceſſity, "by which he endeavours to accompliſh his deviliſh ends." Is the enlightened eighteenth century the period to tell Iriſhmen, "You muſt *export* your legiſlation," and fall ſubmiſſively at the feet of Britain, *humbly* imploring her that ſhe will *graciouſly* permit us to be her ſlaves? Is this the time, when the blood ſtained banner had been nearly planted on the towers of the capital, but for the prevention of the Iriſh yeomanry, to talk of Union?

Union? Gracious God! Is it decent in miniſters to inſult an half-butchered, half-burned country, by propoſing an Union? *An Union!* Yes, of complicated ruin, beggary and deſolation! theſe the bleſſed ſatellites of a monſtrous, unnatural Union with England.—Having ſhewn how the effects of an Union operated as to Scotland, we come now to other conſiderations, and ſhall treat of the baneful effects of an Union with regard to Ireland, in the different points as they occur.

ABSENTEES.

An Union with England will triple the number of Abſentees, of which Ireland has ſo long complained, and by which ſhe has ſo long ſuffered. Do you complain of poverty and of beggary? Whoſe lofty caſtle is that, which yonder contemptuouſly frowns on the wratched hovel (or more appropriately, as Twiſs called it, "a Pig-ſtye?") Oh! it is a lordly Abſentee's! See, behold the rain and the ſnow deſcend through the roofleſs walls of this habitation of cheerleſs poverty! Behold the wretched owner, attending his periſhing conſort, oppreſſed with diſeaſe, overcome with calamitous poverty, with famine! his little innocents holding forth their helpleſs, infantine, unpolluted hands to the elements, more humane than mercileſs man! Behold the rapacious agent of the foreign Abſentee has ſeized the hardly-earned pittance of induſtry, and left the wretched family to expire! —Does the picture pleaſe you, Iriſhmen?—No, my countrymen, I will not inſult, nor will I ſport with your feelings; I know the Iriſh heart to well to entertain ſuch unworthy ſuſpicions, and that you would exclaim "Blaſted be the Union that encreaſes the "diſtreſſes of our country, and curſed be he that "propoſes it; may infamy and ſpeedy deſtruction "await him." No, no, we have too many Abſen-

tees already; the drain of ſpecie, in conſequence of them, is already too great to require its increaſe by the baneful effects of an Union.

POPULATION.

As the ſources of the wealth of a people depend on the exchange of manufacture for ſpecie; no leſs do they ſo on the population of a country. What effect then, let us ingenuouſly inquire, would an Union have on the population of this Country? From the unhappy effects of the late unfortunate rebellion, the population of Ireland has very materially ſuffered, by thoſe executed by the civil and military tribunals, as well as by the thouſands ſlain in the field of battle. What effect muſt not this have on Ireland?—It may not be immediately felt, for the harveſt has been ſown, and is ſince got in; but where is the ſturdy huſbandman, "his country's pride," to plant the crops, and attend to the tillage of the enſuing year? In yonder field of battle he lies, "a ſtiffened corſe, ſtretched out, and bleaching in the northern blaſt." Where can his loſs be ſupplied? not in the military array that ſurrounds you, not in the grim and terrific aſpect of Homſpech's ferocious banditti! not in the ſpruce array of the Engliſh militia, or the Scotch fencibles, with charged bayonets or "*Cut Six*," to force an Union on poor cajoled Ireland! In vain to look to hired mercenaries, for replacing the loſs of your huſbandmen; nothing but the conſequences of peace, and the amelioration of the Iriſh poor, can encourage and extend the population of Ireland.

"But an Union takes place!"—Ireland ſtill bleeding at every pore, ſtill diſmayed by the effects of terroriſm!—who will live in ſuch a country!—the eſtated nobleman? Gothic idea! the deſolated ſtreets of Dublin will be ill calculated for the diſplay of the golden chariot, or the coſtly retinue; London is the place,

place, it is only there a gentleman can live!—Will the gentry reſide in Ireland? Abſurd! Bath, London, Harrowgate, Margate or Brighthelmſtone are better calculated for the meridian of high life, than the rainy climate of depopulated Ireland!—Will the mechanic or manufacturer reſide in Ireland? No, a depopulated country needs not manufacturers; they will emigrate to America, or ſome other ſoil more propitious to their undertakings, and more grateful for their exertions.—Will the lawyer reſide in ſuch a country? The probability is he may emigrate, if not, he may parade the abdicated hall of the four courts, go each day from court to court, and quickly hear the cryer, to an empty court, vociferate, "tomorrow, God ſave the king."—The attorney? He may convert his parchments into drum-heads, become bankrupt, or turn pawn-broker, the only trade that will then flouriſh!—The Phyſician may publiſh weekly bills of mortality, and "throw his phyſic to the dogs."—The Muſician may ſtrike the broken ſtrings of Ierne's harp to the diſcordant notes of miſery, compoſe her Lamentations, as a *Dead March*, with the cries of the killed, famiſhed, hanged and wounded!—Such the conſequences, and ſuch the depopulation attendant on an Union.

COMMERCE.

It has been ſaid, "An Union with England would extend our commerce, the ſea would then be open to us; there would then be an equalization of the channel trade." Are we ſure of that? We cannot, however, forget an addreſs from the Commons of England* preſented to William the Third, againſt the woollen

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* Vide, Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England. By this it will appear, that at ſo early a period as Wm. 3d. the policy

woollen trade; his anſwer was, "He would take care "what was complained of ſhould be prevented," which is farther corroborated by his letter to Earl Galway* in Ireland, dated Kenſington, July 15th, 1698, where among other matters, that he muſt "make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and "*diſcourage* as far as poſſible, the woollen manufac- "ture, &c."

(Signed W R.

Can then much commercial advantages be expected from a country that has ever reſtricted our trade and cramped our manufactures? But, "ſhe allows us the excluſive manufacture of linen," *becauſe* ſhe cannot equal us in it! O *magnanimous* England, you will at length concede us an equalization of the channel trade, wonderful conceſſion! *the Great Nation* when compared to you falls very far ſhort of your unbounded generoſity! You abuſe France for her tyranny in robbing Switzerland of her independence by force of the bayonet, and how do you act to Ireland? With an immenſe military force in this country, ſtill bleeding from rebellion, you are about to annihilate her independence, and forſooth grant her an equalization of the channel trade! You that are ſo prompt to perceive faults in France, fall into that very crime yourſelf, by your endeavours to annihilate Ireland as

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policy of England was to keep down the trade of this country, leſt it ſhould rival that of England; which is further corroborated by a petition of certain towns on the coaſt of Wales to the Britiſh Parliament, *complaining of the Iriſh catching herrings at Wexford!!!*——Vide Commercial Reſtraints.

* The Earl of Galway, was a General of K. William III. and one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland. A. D. 1697.

as a nation! Yet you will *condeſcend* to allow beggared, bankrupt Ireland, to partake of your taxes, and your monſtrous national debt, to give a penſion to the *great* Duke of Wirtemberg, or ſome other foreign potentate, and allow her the mighty wonderful advantage of ſelling the produce of her induſtry *on the ſame terms*, you diſpoſe of yours, but the purchaſe to be the enſlaving of Ireland!!! Oh, for the verſification of a Pope, the point and force of a Swift, and the fire of an Addiſon, to panegerize and tranſmit to poſterity your *exalted* benevolence!

But "there will be an equalization of the channel trade:" are you ſure of that? Will the ſooty manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, Mancheſter and Leeds conſent to this, did not their remonſtrances to the Britiſh Senate, ſtrike conviction the Britiſh Miniſter, when they petitioned againſt Orde's famed propoſitions, while he was Secretary in Ireland, and did not the Miniſter ſuddenly abandon what he had as inconſiderately undertaken? Follow their example, let Ireland's voice be heard, united to its gracious King, *but inimical to Union:* never let her permit an Union perfidiouſly undertaken by thoſe "who can ſmile and murder while they ſmile," to be forced on Ireland's virtuous ſons. Let Ireland but ſpeak, and *ſhe* muſt be attended to. But ſuppoſing an equalization of the channel trade, where are your merchants? Perhaps emigrated or tranſported to a foreign clime, their warehouſes converted into guard-rooms or priſons! where are your manufacturers? Perhaps undergoing a ſimilar fate, the reſult of the diſtreſſes, the poverty and the calamitous events attendant on the recent rebellion; even admitting England to barter conceſſion for an Union, as it has been already obſerved, what manufacturers would venture themſelves, their capitals, or their families, to ſuch a diſtreſſed country as Ireland? None can be weak enough to ſuppoſe it. Stripped of her population and deſolated by rebellion,

what

what conceſſions of a mercantile nature can prove of advantage to her? To the thirſty, languid, fainting traveller on Arabia's deſart ſands, you may in vain offer gold as uſeleſs is it to him as the inhoſpitable ſand on which he periſhes, one draught of water would relieve him more than all that pageantry can beſtow, what then is offering merchandiſe and traffic to Ireland at this moment, but inſulting her? Give her peace, but no Union, and you prove yourſelf her friend. Hume the hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh Union, makes this remark, that it but "kept alive "that mutual hatred between the nations which had "been carried to the greateſt extremity, *and required* "*time to allay it.*"* How much more applicable and more forcibly does this obſervation *now* apply to Ireland, on the ſubject of Union, than it did *then* to Scotland? England will no doubt endeavour to allure Ireland by throwing out conceſſions to deceive the unwary, ſhe may elevate the architectural column, to flatter Iriſh pride and folly, conſtruct new ſtreets and rear princely palaces! Poor compenſation for Iriſh independence. The great officers of ſtate, with *minds ever open to conviction*, upon the touchſtone application of five or ſix thouſand pounds a year, *penſion to be paid by Ireland*, will very ſoon *diſcover the expediency* of an Union! And the walls of that Commons that ſo lately reſounded with the cry of *independant Ireland!!* confirmed by a vote of the Britiſh legiſlature, will ſoon ring changes on the vaſt advantage an Union will bring. *Advantages?* Yes, if oppreſſion, miſery, bankruptcy and poverty are ſuch to a nation, an Union, will effect THOSE ADVANTAGES. Vain then and ſilly to talk of commerce being encreaſed by an Union. By whom, ſuppoſing an equalization of the channel trade to take place, would the imports of

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* Vide, Hume's Hiſtory of England, Vol. VI. p. 21.

of manufacture and merchandiſe, from the Indies and from England be conſumed? By the ſhop-keeper? No, become a bankrupt, his ſhop cloſed, he has emigrated to America. By the the Nobleſſe and Gentry? No, involved in extravagance and diſſipation, they are exhibiting their equipages in London the emporium of the empire, what fate then awaits the merchant but ruin and certain bankruptcy? Laden with goods, purchaſed at a vaſt expence, he returns from the Atlantic, or from the Indian ocean, he comes to Dublin, a depopulated, beggarly town, inhabited but by ſqualidneſs and wretchedneſs, a ſecond Edinburgh rendered ſuch from a ſimilar cauſe, an Union with England: here is printed in capitals, "this houſe to be ſold for a third of its value, as the ſhop-keeper has become inſolvent;" there "a bankrupt's ſale!" But it may be ſaid, "altho' Dublin will be ruined, Cork and Waterford will be benefited!" That is in plain Engliſh to ſay we will deſtroy and cut off the head and metropolis of the nation, and very likely one of the legs and arms may ſurvive the amputation! O ſkilful Chirurgeons! May you never operate upon this iſland! But if the country be depopulated by the emigration and oppreſſion attendant on an Union, in God's name, how could any part of the kingdom, *however* favoured by commerce, flouriſh? This then is the ſeaſon, previous to the meeting of *your Parliament* boldly to ſpeak out, and declare how obnoxious and detrimental an Union would be to Ireland. If you quietly ſubmit, without remonſtrating againſt it, the opportunity paſſed by will never again return.

The motives that induce the Miniſter to effect an Union of Ireland with Great-Britain.

In accompliſhing an Union, there are ſeveral points highly favourable to the Miniſter. The Iriſh Repre-

 ſentatives

ſentatives in the Britiſh Commons would then ſhare the miniſterial loaves and fiſhes, and like their *worthy* compeers, the Scotch Repreſentatives, ſupporting the Miniſter, add to his now irreſiſtible phalanx, and place him hereafter, *however* corrupt, or deſtructive of the liberty of the ſubject, beyond the reach or power of parliamentary impeachment, which the wiſdom of our progenitors had placed in the Parliament of England, under the laws and conſtitution of the realm. But theſe are not the only advantages that will reſult to the Miniſter. Poor bankrupt Ireland muſt then bear her quota of the immenſe overgrown national debt of England, multiplying every hour the war continues, and of conſequence, Ireland's burden muſt be enormouſly encreaſed. The air we breathe, the light that will then but render the miſery of Ireland conſpicuous, muſt be taxed—the luxuries of the rich, and even the diſtreſſes of the poor, to prop the tottering pile, overpowered with the debt and taxes of Great-Britain ! ! !—Theſe are ſome of the *proſperous* conſequences that will inevitably reſult from the Union. Add to this too, that the nation had been loud in its repeated declarations for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, in which, had it been unanimous, it muſt have ſucceeded, and we would not now have had to lament the recent Rebellion, and the unhappy, but too ſucceſsful attempts, to diſſeminate bigotted diſſenſions in religon eſtranging the Catholics from the Proteſtants, as if we were not the ſame natives of the one and ſame ſoil; but an Union will prevent both from ever taking place, and will ſo ſtrengthen the coloſſal power of Miniſters, that altho' they may be as deſerving of puniſhment as a Strafford, they will be placed beyond the power of Parliament.—Let then the Proteſtant and Catholic join hands; it is the cauſe of their country; their diſunion, which the Miniſter has ſo long endeavoured to accompliſh, (like the ſeparated bundle of rods)

rods) will but weaken Ireland's efforts, and empower him to eſtabliſh an Union. This is the cauſe of the Proteſtant—of the Catholic—of the Preſbyterian—of the Quaker—of every ſect—of all. It is the cauſe of the Iriſh nation—"*it ſhall, it muſt be heard!*"

AMERICA.

America had no legiſlation when under the power of England. When ſhe had to complain of a breach of public faith, and violation of a ſolemn treaty, or unjuſt taxation, her complaints muſt be preferred, borne by a long navigation acroſs the Atlantic to the Britiſh Senate; where her virtuous Franklin was ſcoffed at, and her complaints, by him preferred, were unattended to. But, it may be ſaid, how does this apply to Ireland? It is anſwered, it would apply in caſe of an Union, not as to the compariſon of the diſtance of the great continent of America and the contiguity of this iſland; but it holds good ſo far, that if Ireland has any remonſtrance to make, any petition to prefer, it muſt be to the Parliament of the empire, (as it is preſumed it will be then called) for Ireland will then have no Parliament of her own, to foſter her manufactures, her agriculture, like an indulgent parent; her real intereſts will conſequently be loſt or overlooked, in the more *conſequential* intereſts of England; charity will then begin at home; none for ſturdy Iriſh ſolicitants!!—Ireland muſt then ſuffer for the *juvenile* indiſcretions of an elder ſiſter, who has ſquandered her dower in deſtructive war and unſucceſsful ſubſidy!

It is high time, then, that England ſhould learn, and bear in mind the conſequences of her conduct to America—ſhe ſhould "remember and fear to tranſgreſs;" ſhe ſhould further recollect, that ſhe actually *forced* America to ſhake off her connection, and that had conciliation been adopted, America had ſtill

been a part of one great empire, and had not been wreſted from England by the intrigues of France, and moſt probably the French revolution would not have taken place. I here cannot but quote a part of the ſpeech of his Grace the Duke of Grafton on the affairs of America; it is (if we can credit the reports of the houſes of Parliament of the Iriſh legiſlature) ſo applicable to this hapleſs land, and proves how France, taking advantage of the impolitic conduct of England, has for ever deprived her of the continent of America. Thoſe that do not ſee the analogy muſt be dull indeed. On the 31ſt of October 1776, the Duke of Grafton made a Speech in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, with regard to the conduct of Miniſters, of which the following is an extract.* His Grace enumerated "the meaſures of Adminiſtration "with reſpect to America, which he declared he "would oppoſe as long as his legs would carry him "to that Houſe. He averred from authority un-"queſtionable, that *they had driven the Provincials* "*to ſeek protection from our natural enemies:* that "France had all along *ſupplied them with arms*, and "every kind of military ſtores, *that a member of the* "*Congreſs was now reſident at Paris*, and actually "in treaty with that Court."

Would not one imagine they were reading a part of the Report of the Secret Committee of Ireland? If then ſuch has been the conduct of England (to expreſs his Grace's words) "*as to drive the Provin-*"*cials to ſeek protection from our natural enemies*," while France was under a Monarchic government, how, let me aſk, would not, might not the meaſure of an Union, *drive* the people of Ireland (which God avert) *to ſeek protection from our natural ene-*

mies,

* Vide Parliamentary Debates in the Britiſh Senate, A. D. 1776.

mies, even under a Republican form of government, that has already effected ſo much, that has and is aiming all its energies againſt England, and that has ſo very far excelled, in its ſucceſſes whatever had been attempted by Monarchic France? But it may be ſaid, "as France has made thoſe attempts, better to be "united to England than to France." But how are we in this dilemma? Where the neceſſity of being added, a contemptible province to either? Add to this, if an Union with the former, was to prove the very direct means of eſtranging us from, and uniting u to the latter, how impolitic would it be in Great Britain, merely to indulge her national pride, by the ſacrifice of Iriſh independence, and run the riſque of Ireland's ſeparation from England for ever? Is it generous, then, noble, prudent or politic, for England to diſguſt the people of Ireland, who had remained ſo faithful to England during a formidable rebellion, when it had been by the inſurgents, conſidered as treaſonable to act ſo? let England anſwer, and let England recollect that but for the yeomanry and the majority of the people of Ireland, ſhe would now have had to regret the loſs of, inſtead of propoſing an Union to Ireland, and this country had now been a republic, ſeparated probably from England for ever! Oh, *grateful* Engliſhmen, how can I ſufficiently expreſs the opinion and feelings of the people of this country at conduct ſuch as this! Is then the obnoxious meaſure of an Union, the way to preſerve Ireland to England?

"Credat Judeus Appella, non ego."

It is however true, an Union with England will but confirm our Union, and will *unite all,* royaliſts and others, to oppoſe oppreſſion! Begin then, *redoubted* England, confirm an Union, and you will INDISSOLUBLY HAVE ESTABLISHED OURS: Recollect, my countrymen,

countrymen, that the American tea-tax and ſtamp-act, ſhone as ſtars, to liberate the Americans from a code of bondage; and ſimilar cauſes, both in the phyſical and political world, have invariably been productive of ſimilar effects.

At this moment England has been ſucceſsful; fluſhed and vain of her naval operations, Engliſh pride is up; but it does not follow that Ireland is to ſacrificed to that pride: England has now an immenſe army of mercenaries in this country; and may think herſelf certain of ſucceſs in her own political arithmetic. But let her recollect, "the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong;" let her too recollect that political life is chequered with misfortunes as well as that of the individual, that the tide of ill-fortune may turn, and in future wars, Ireland become the bone of contention, if not a colony to France, (if we are to judge from the many and recent attempts of that power) when diſguſted by an Union with England. Recollect, then, my beloved countrymen, that I have ſhewn, (or at leaſt endeavoured to do ſo) that Scotland has not benefited by the Union, that even if ſhe has, it does not apply to Ireland. That your abſentees will be tripled, to the irretrievable detriment of our native land—that our commerce will not be increaſed *even* from an equalization of the channel trade, that our manufactures will not be benefited by Engliſh ſettlers, as they will not in all probability come over to ſuch a diſtracted country—that our commerce muſt conſequently decreaſe from emigration, attendant on that oppreſſive meaſure, an Union. Poverty and oppreſſion being the ever unvarying cauſes of emigration. How abſurd then to expect wealthy ſettlers to give up their comforts, and come to Ireland? I have farther ſhewn the motives that induce the miniſter to accompliſh this meaſure, it being ever the wiſh and the intereſt of every miniſter to effect it.——I have ſhewn how

America

America, through the impolitic conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, has been alienated from the imperial diadem; and have pointed out the probable result of the attempts of the enterprizing Republic—France, should an Union be effected.

The decision rests with you, whether you will leave a possibility of our being annexed to France, at a future period, or remain as you are already, united to our most gracious Sovereign, and to England; or *basely* surrender your Rights to English monopolists, by not resisting an Union. It rests with you, it rests *with those* that call themselves *your representatives;* if they do not *sell your Rights,* they CANNOT BE BOUGHT, and consequently an Union *cannot* be established. But should the Irish Parliament take upon themselves to annihilate the Constitution of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, (by an Act of incorporating Union) this act would, *ipso facto,* be void and null; AND THE RIGHT OF CHOOSING A FORM OF GOVERNMENT WOULD AGAIN REVERT TO THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE.*

People of Ireland then, those I mean whose love for Ireland *has not yet been sold,* whose affection *has not* been corrupted, and whose honour *has not* been purchased; on you do I call—speak boldly out!—This is the time; now or never. If you are indifferent, you are undone. Address then, our beloved Sovereign, and petition against an Union. IRELAND'S UNITED VOICE, *in peals of thunder shall then be heard,* IT SHALL BE HEARD—at last strike conviction, and stun the domineering Minister, with Ireland's emphatic exclamation of—NO UNION!!!

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* Vide Locke on Government.

FINIS.

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